# Hermes

BY THE STUDENTS OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY IN MIDDLETOWN, CONNECTICUT

# **Education as Commodity**

A cent hoof () And it state in Volume of the of is in the first late an object out de us a thing that hours periods at these human was set one solver their yet he countries it is queer thing, a canding in netar sical subjects and the original inciti. It is something the domot truers and it is an higher than a sical subjects and the original inciti. It is something the domot truers and it is an higher than a line of the incition of the incitio

But what of Education? What does it have to do with the above discussion of commodities?

We come to Western to ge an education. This is, in execution an economic transaction in exchange for \$8,000 a year we are nittled to enroll in courses (when we can get into them), fulfill the requirements and partake in the alleged active pursuit of knowledge. \$32,000 and 4 years late, we receive a diploma which will certify us for a higher position in the soft hierarchies of work in corporate America (when we can get into them). I ducation is an investment. It is also a "thing" that we "buy." It is a commodity

Education is seen as having a transcendent character, as an objective thing, as an "independent being endowed with life. Education is surrounded, protected and perpetuated by myths and mythology. It is mystified, it is certainly fetishized. It is not recognized for what it really is: the creation of definite women and me," embodying definite social relationships.

critical cook at Education as Commodition of the total cook at Education as Commodition of the total cook at the society of the folk of education in our society, of the folk of education and raise many questions. We look at the history of American public education and its role in society today, the Feminist alternative to the classroom, Marxism in the deademy and philosophies behind investment policies of universities.

We contend that Education is not an unchangeable thing to be accepted because it is vast, we are small, it is permanent, we are temporary, it is a tradition, we are neophytes. But in order to change it we must understand what it is we are dealing with. We must educate ourselves about Education.

Marx comments that under a system of commodity production, the social action of people takes "the form of the action of objects, which rule the producers instead of being ruled by their We want to rule our objects (direct oddown educations), not be ruled by their or because of them.



## Singing the Police Dog Blues in Seabrook...





## What is an RPV?

e rector pressure vessel (RPV) is a vital compo-di d the Seabrook nuclear power blant. Sixteen feet d'ameter, 44 feet high, and weighing 427 tons, it is the ant "the can" that would hold the radioactive antom fuel. Here the nuclear fission reaction would "ir at 4000°F, heating water to produce steam, for run nerators, and producing radioactive wastes. Over bellion gallons of cooling water daily would have to culate constantly, without fail, changing the acoast environment as it returned to the ocean 40-tter.

# Blockade!

The Orange Alert was sounded and the telephone tree started around 3am on Tuesday, March 6. An hour and half later, some 20 Wesleyan Students left from the Housing Office to make the 4 hour trip northward to Seabrook, New Hampshire. Preparations for the Blockade had begun Blockade had begun.

Earlier that weekend, the Reactor Pressure Vessel-Earlier that weekend, the Reactor Pressure Vesselthe RPV (see bbx below)-arrived in Hampton Harbor from Chattenuga, Tennessee, The Clamshell Alliance intended to blockade the RPV, that is, physically block the vessel along its several route preventing it from reaching its ultimate destination, the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant site.

However, the RPV was not immediately moved. In the next several days, Wesleyan Clams helped organize phone trees, set up the Harbor Blockade In-formation Center, staffed information sites, picketed,

and vigiled.

The RPV was moved Friday morning, March 9. The actual blockade consisted of groups of people participating in civil disobedience at four locations along the route. Ten members of the Wesleyan contingent, joined by 9 other Clams, blocked the RPV at the main gate at the harbor, thus initiating the action. They were immediately arrested by Massachusetts State Police under New Hampshire State Police jurisdiction, and charged with Disorderly Conduct. They were loaded onto a bus and transported to the Hampton County Jail. A total of 183 people were arrested while blocking the onto a bus and transported to the harmyonic country and.
A total of 183 people were arrested while blocking the
RPV during the day. Hundreds of other people participated in the action doing support work.
The misdemeanor charges against the Clams were
reduced to summons. Clams were released late in the

reduced to summons. Clams were released late in the day without bail. Arraignments were set for several dates in April.

While the Clamshell did not succeed in actually preventing the transport of the RPV, the action did draw a great deal of attention in New England to fight against nuclear power. And it served as a potent reminder to the Public Service Company of New Hampshire, which is the major stockholder of the Seabrook nuke, that the battle against Seabrook nuke continues, and that the Clamshell is not intimidated by the continuous legal and police actions taken against them by the State.





# Eschewing Trident: What is five stories tall, as

football fields, hides deep beneath the surface of the ocean, and can cause more devastation in the space of a few minutes that Godzilla and King Kong could have

in millions of years?

Answer: the Trident submarine, America's latest and most lethal contribution to the so-called arms race. and most lethal contribution to the so-called arms race. When the very first Trident rolls down the ways at the Electric Boat shipyard in Groton, Connecticut, two days from now, the world will be witnessing the dawn of a new age in nuclear politics, an age in which destruction on a global scale will become more possible, practical—and likely—than ever before.

In brief, the Trident has been developed to replace the United States' "outdated" fleet of Polaris and Poseidon submarines. A fully—armed Trident will eventually carry 24 Trident III ballistic missiles, each of

tually carry 24 Trident II ballistic missiles, each of which will have a range of over 4000 miles, and each of which will in turn carry a thermonuclear payload that is several times greater than the primitive atomic bombs which levelled Hiroshima and Nagasaki nearly 35 years ago.

This is what the numbers add up to: A single Trident sub, from its submerged position, will be able to annihilate over 400 Eurasian, African ar Latin American cities almost instantaneously. Simply put, Trident is the most deadly- efficient weapon system ever built, and the Navy wants 30 of them, at a cost of over \$2 billion each (this latter figure doesn't even include cost-overruns, which have already been as high as 50).

Make no mistake about it: Trident is a sophisticated

death machine, and its advent brigs us a giant step

closer to Doomsday.

The Trident itself, however, symbolizes more than just death and destruction on an unimaginable scale, and the grave threat to all human life. It also represents the enormous technological knowledge that humankind has accumulated in the 7000-or-so years since the dawn of "civilization". The knowledge that Trident embodies a token of the great possibilities open to humanity: a perverse and distorted token to be sure, but a token nonetheless.

What is ultimately at issue, then, is not Trident but the kind of twisted priorities that have created it. These are not hard to identify: they are the same cor-porate priorities that have continually sacrificed people's real needs (like adequate housing and hea care, to name fust a couple) for the sake of maximizing private profit Studies have shown that profits for defense-contracting industries are as much as 70%)

defense-contracting industries are as much as 70% ) higher than for non-defense industries, but in general, economists agree that military spending fuels inflation and creates (for the amount of money invested) a disproportionally low number of jobs. Yet in 1979, military spending will be the largest single item on the federal budget, comprising over 25% of total espenditures. Connecticut is littered with corporations which benefit from what has become called "the permanent war economy": General Dynamics (whose subsidiary, Electric Boat, is building Trident), Pratt & Whitney Aircraft and Sikorsky Helicopter are only the most notable. These corporations produce super-profits notable. These corporations produce super-profits from the production of weapons, to the detriment of the great bulk of working people. The corporate priorities of capitalist America-not Trident-are the real bogey

But if the larger issue is who should determine our nation's priorities, nevertheless the immediate political concern must be on the production of the Trident submarine, and by extension the cruise missile, the M-X and the neutron bomb. The roots of mass armaments production should always be born in mind, but we can't take on corporate capitalism all at once: instead, we must battle it whenever and wherever we

instead, we must battle it whenever and wherever we can.Andwhen Roslyn Carter christens the first Trident the "USS Ohio", the event will mark a victory of the corporate few over the whole of humanity.

Not surprisingly, perhaps, at the launching on Saturday General Dynamics/Electric Boat will be throwing a celebration to honor the momentous occasion. But members of the Trident/Conversion Campaign, an anti-Trident organization, have a better idea. They will in their own words will, in their own words,

be lining the streets of Groton in a suent vigil of mourning—a non-celebration—so that every corporate and political and military dignitary, every would-be celebrant, will be confronted with the reminder—THE LAUNCHING OF TRIDENT IS NO TIME FOR CELEBRATION.

Many members of the Wesleyan community will be many members of the westeyan community will be joining in the protest—a legal demonstration—as well as helping to keep the demonstration peaceful and orderly. Hermes supports their efforts, and urges othr members of the community to join in. Anyone who is interested should contact the Ecology House (347-4048) or the Feminist House (346-0041) for information on lines and idea. times and rides.

times and rides.

The launching of Trident is a deeply personal issue for all of us, not only because it is taking place on our doorstep but also because it is our lives that are threatened by it. We urge everyone to consider the stakes, and join in the Day of Mourning in Groton. The alternative is to be passive spectators to our own

# Firing Henry, Burning Heritage

Everyone knows that Henry Abelove is an extraor-dinary teacher. On this basis alone he is entitled to be tenured; or more accurately, we are entitled to his being tenured. But Henry Abelove's case raises very serious questions about how Wesleyan defines itself, how we as students and faculty conceive of our responsibilities to each other and to the society beyond the

Tenure procedures are, to say the least, byzantine. Nonetheless, those who know Henry know that he has been faulted on the basis of scholarship that has not been deemed esoteric enough to earn him tenure at Wesleyan. His book is intended for a wider audience than that tiny fraction of the population who read highly specialized scholarly journals. Both his teaching and his writing are expressions of a sense of responsibility to his students and to society as a whole.

The issue here is whether the role of an intellectual is that of a smug esthete exchanging exclusive comments with a handful of similarly specialized people at other universities, or that of a responsible teacher/student communicating and disseminating ideas. It is impor-tant to support scholarship beyond the present grasp of most people. But we must recognize that the posture of the university is a major factor in determining that grasp. Should a university be an elitist outpost of polarized specialists or a community assuming the responsibility to create a literate and conscious socie-

The Master of Arts in Teaching program, explicitly designed for area public school teachers, the Travers Square/high rise low rise complex, Upward Bound and Aid Blind Admissions are examples of what Wesleyan has been. The efficacy and expense of these programs and policies aside, they affirm the notion that univer-sities should be responsive and responsible participants in society. Tenuring Henry Abelove is not a multi-million dollar decision. If the financial debacle has clouded and rationalized other instances of subversion of our identity and purpose, it simply won't hold up this time. The denial of tenure to Henry Abelove is a blatant repudiation of what Wesleyan stood for and strove for with Victor Butterfield. This denial is dangerously irresponsible and decadent.

## Able to Love Abelove

We, the undersigned, students in Henry Abelove's History 214 course, would like to express our concern and shock in reaction to the recent tenure decision. Though we are sure that the student evaluations reviewed by the Advisory Committee have already spoken eloquently in his behalf, we would like to enumerate again some of the professional abilities and personal qualities that make Henry such an extraordinary professor.

His comprehensive knowledge and understanding of the material of the course, combined with his personal insight and originality, have helped to produce a climate of genuine intellectual excitement in the classroom. He is a superb teacher. He leads class discussion with exceptional skill, eliciting response from every student, and imparting to us a great deal of the interest and enthusiasm which he obviously feels for the subject. Often, everyone will gladly stay after class to pursue a discussion. Henry stimulates his students to read critically, write thoughtfully, and, most important, think seriously about the material. He conducts classes in such a way that each student takes an active role in solving problems and forming hypotheses.

It is continually made clear to us how much time Henry has devoted to in-depth research in his field. Because he is so well-prepared and so widely read, he gives us the confidence to extend our inquiries beyond the limits of one discipline. The extensive comments he discipline. The extensive comments are in-valuable. In addition, Henry always makes himself available outside of class to give personal attention to his students' questions and difficulties. He takes a personal interest in the ideas and the progress of every member of the class. His open personality and modest demeanor help to foster an extraordinary rapport with his students:

we perceive him as a friend as well as a respected and admired professor.

Wesleyan's first priority as an educa-tional institution must remain ex-cellence in teaching, Mr. Abelove has received the most consistently favorable evaluations in the history of the student evaluation system. Every the student evaluation system. Every semester, many students must be turned away from his courses for lack of space. We, as students, would never have applied to this university had we known that Wesleyan could ever sacrifice a teacher whose excellent reputation has been so overwhelmingly established by the student body.

established by the student body.

Henry Abelove's integrity and dedication have made him a model for us, an example of what academic life should be. His dismissal would mean a great and irrevocable loss to the whole Wesleyan community. He is ir-replaceable; his contribution is unique. We have all been greatly disappointed by the decision, but we hope that such a regretable loss may still be averted. We urge that an appeal be made, and hope that it will be upheld by the Academic

> ANDREW J. KIRKENDALL PAUL ECHIFF JAMES H. TERRY ELIZABETH SCHEINER
> HORN BORDEN, JR.
> ANDREW C. MANDEL
> NANCY F. ROSENBERG
> NINA MIRONENKO CINDY SCHRAGER ERIKA GOLDMAN JENNIFER BROWNE
> JENNIFER BROWNE
> ANDREW BIRNBAUM
> JANE C. PHILO
> JOHN MCARDLE
> PHILLIP BOEHN
> TOM BRODY FREDERIK M. BAUREN TODD C. MARTIN BARBARA GREENBAUM
> ELISABETH ARENALES
> CHRIS HEYE
> RICHARD SCHORSKE
> PETER SCHERE
> GAYTEN CARRALY

## Campbell and Capitalism: A Parting of the Ways

In an unpublished interview with Argus Editor Tim Redmond and philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre, Presi-dent Campbell was reported as saying: "It is true: I have become quite disillu-sioned with my life in our advanced capitalist society. As President of Wesleyan and as V.P. of the American Stock Exchange, I have seen the enemy and it is me. My actions have contributed to the perpetuation of myths depicting ours as the best of all possible worlds, and it is not. Lies, lies, lies. I now repent of my sins. But my attempts to tenure Henry, Joan and Cherri, as well as replace my staff with experienced Marxist administrators, have met with considerable resistance. I see no alternative but to surrender before the alternative but to surrender before the force of bourgeois hegemony, to resign my position, and join a religious cult in California." When asked by Hermes to verify the accuracy of the above statement Campbell's office denied the interview ever took place. Redmond and Sartre were not available for comment.



# Hermes

Pam Botton, Pau Hammer.

st for this issue David Bell,
Jonathan Bell, Michael Bell,
Paul Chill, Milea Erich, Ivan
Illich, Cynthia Jaffe, Katherine
Kohrman, Lesile Landau,
Doris Lessing, Mao, Karl Marx,
Craig McLaughlin, Brian
Mikulae, Kan Millier, Phill Ochs,
Malvina Reynolda, Paul
Roland, Robert Taylor, Jean
Wagner, Stephen Ward

By Lauren Goldfarb

PROFESSOR LOWELL: ... We came very close to the

REPORTER: The what?

LOWELL: If the nuclear reactor vessel-the core-is exposed, the fuel heats beyond...tolerance in a matter of minutes, nothing can stop it, and it melts right through the bottom of the plant, theoretically to China. But of course, when it hits ground water, it would blast into the atmosphere and send out clods of radioactivi-ty. The number of people killed would depend on which way the wind is blowing..render an area the size of Pennsylvania permanently uninhabitable -not to men-tion the cancer that would show up later.

No, this is not an excerpt from an interview on ABC World News Tonight. It comes from The China Syndrome, a film that, until the Three Mile Island plant accident, nuclear power advocates were calling

The film stars Jane Fonda as a TV reporter and Michael Douglas as her cameraman who, while doing a routine story on a nuclear plant near Los Angeles, witness and secretly film an accident. The film relates the collusive attempt of the TV Station and the utility company to cover up the story and the growing politicization of Fonda and Jack Lemmon, who plays a

plant supervisor.

The utility company wants to keep the investigation of the accident short because it is trying to get a license for another plant. Each day the plant is shut down costs the company a half a million dollars. But Lemmon discovers a leak coming from one of the pump support systems. He fears the pumps won't be able to stand up pressure. When he checks the pictures of the pumps weldings, he discovers they had been falsified. wants to keep the plant shut down while new pictures are taken. But the plant manager says it would take two to three weeks and he has to get the plant back on

Meanwhile, Douglas has taken the secret film to nuclear experts who tell him the accident could have led to a meltdown. Fonda confronts Lemmon who had previously told her there had been no accident. At this point he is ready to turn over the phony pictures to the NRC. But the company's "security men" try to stop

The action picks up. There is a car chase and Lemmon takes over the control room of the plant demanding to go on TV to tell what he knows. The chairman of ung to go on TV to ten what ne knows. The enarmand the board of the utility company calls in a SWAT team and tries to set up an accident like the first to distract Lemmon. The audience sits in suspense waiting to see who The film comes to a dramatic close and the last picture we see is the TV station airing a commercial for microwave ovens.

There are several parallels between the film and the There are several parallels between the minimum careal story behind nuclear power, including the most recent Three Mile Island plant accident. First, there is the tremendous initial faith in the promise of nuclear power. In the film, Fonda is at first impressed by the huge amount of power the plant provides, enough "for a city of three quarters of a million people." "More huge amount of power the plant provides, chough "of a city of three quarters of a million people." "More electricity than the Hoover Dam and the Grand Coolie Dam combined," echoes the company's P.R. man. Right now, nuclear energy provides 13 percent of this country's electricity. In some states, like Vermont and South Carolina, it supplies 40 to 50 percent. With the price of oil going up and coal being too dirty to use, nuclear power has been hailed as cheap and efficient.

Secondly, there is the extreme confidence in the safe-ty of nuclear power plants. In the file, Lemmon, at first, assures Fonda that there was no accident. "These plants are designed for the possibility of ac-cidents. Everything that could go wrong is taken into consideration. Every component is tested and retested. We have back up systems to back up systems." In an article on The China Syndrome which appeared before the event in Pennsylvania. an which appeared before the event in Pennsylvania, an official at Westinghouse said almost the exact thing.

"The systems are designed and built in such a way that the exact pull appears a fell way in these is register." "The systems are designed and built in such a way that a reactor will operate safely even if there is a significant failure or human error." When the Three Mile Island accident did not result in a meltdown (yet!) a member of the Atomic Industrial Forum said, "It proves that the system works." But how can we say the system works when people are still being irradiated and pregnant women and pre-school children have been evacuated from their homes?

A third parallel exists between two events in the film A third parallel exists between two events in the film and two actual occurances at nuclear plants. In the film a pen got stuck in an indicator which led Lemmon to believe there was too much water in the reactor when in fact the water level was dangerously low. This happened in Dresden, Illinois at a plant in 1970. Also, the NRC fined a utility a couple of years ago because the contractors falsified welding reports. Thirdly, there is an incident in the film modeled after the Karen Silkwood case: Silkwood worked in a nuclear plant in Oklahoma and became convinced of the dangers of nuclear power. When she was on her way to deliver some documents to a reporter she "ac-cidently" drove off the side of the road. When she was found the papers were gone. This happened in the China Syndrome whan a character was on his way to deliver the phony welding pictures to the NRC

Then, of course, there is the unbelievable confidence even after an accident, that the system is secure. At even after an accident, and the system is despite the the end of the film, despite the accident and despite the leakage in the pump support system, the utility com-pany chairman was eager to set off the kind of accident that Lemmon warned could lead at a meltdown. In Pennsylvania, officials assured us the situation was stable, and there was no general evacuation. Jimmy Carter even went down there with his wife despite the fact that the hydrogen bubble was still on top of the fuel rods and could have expanded to cause a meltdown. Nuclear power advocates have had their confidence shaken but they still contend that nuclear is the way to

A related analogy is the minimization of the event. In the film, the public was told that what had occured was a "routine turbine trip." Babcock and Wilcox, the company that designed the Three Mile Island plant company that designed the Three Mile Island plant said that the company had made plans to cope with the kind of accident that occured. However, a federal official said the possibility of a bubble was not seen when the plant was designed. In fact, in thirty years no one anticipated the possibility or a gas bubble forming in any type of reactor. Because of this, there is no way to measure the size of the bubble.



radiation was leaked. Then they nsaid about millirems were released. But other estimations were higher. On Friday, there were three "uncontrolled" releases of 25 millirems each. Four workers were ex-posed to 1,500 millirems in one "puff." The maximum amount considered safe is 5,000 millirems a year.

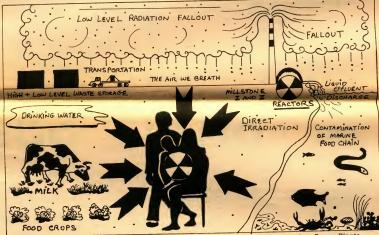
At first, it was said that the radiation will affect the cows in the area. Radioactive iodine accumulates in the thyroid from drinking milk. On Monday, they said the cows were not contaminated.

Friday morning Energy Secretary Schlesinger said the situation was safe. Friday afternoon Thornburgh recommended the evacuation of pregnant women and pre-school children. On Saturday NRC officials admit-

ted for the first time that a meltdown was possible.

They tell us now the bubble has decreased in size by one third. But federal officials doubt this. How can we know what to believe when there is no means to measure the bubble's size? One woman interviewed was glad Carter went down there. She felt that the people were being lied to and that they wouldn't lie to the President.

Are they lying to us or are they lying to themselves?
If so why? Daniel Ford, director of the Union of Concerned Scientists said of The China Syndrome, "The film highlights the central problem with the nuclear program -safety precautions are being compromised by an industry whose major concerns are power generation and money making." This epitomizes the central problem of most technological industries. The



The way we recieve our daily dose of radiation from the Millstone Nuclear Power Plant

But even when problems are anticipated or discovered is anything done about them or is confidence in the system so overwhelming, as in the Indence in the system so overwnemming, as in the China Syndrome, that plant officials will reject an investigation? NRC documents reveal that earlier this year an inspector urged a review of all the Babcock and Wilcox plants for cooling problems in the feed water pumps-problems which showed up in the Three Mile Island accident. Was this review conducted.?

Mile Island accident. Was time review conducted.

The occurance of the gas bubble emphasizes the very lack of knowledge and certainty about the effects of nuclear accidents that nuclear advocates presume they possess. In 1976, the Rasmussen study found than a meltdown could occur once in a billion reactor years But NRC officials disavowed this report, saying not enough information was available to calculate the pro-bability of a major nuclear accident. In Pennsylvania, Friday afternoon, Governor Thornburgh stated, "We cannot predict what will happen in 24 hours." But he was scared enough to suggest the evacuation of preg-nant women and pre-school children on whom radia-tion has the most deletrious effects. All he knew was that the plant would be emitting radiation for the next enough information was available to calculate the protion has the most deletrious effects. All he kniew was that the plant would be emitting radiation for the next four to five days. Although officials assert that it won't be enough to harm people, there is a lack of knowledge in the scientific community about the long term hazards of low level radiation. Recent studies indicate the control of the property of the pr amounts once considered safe may increase the risk of leukemia and other cancers.

Another frightening aspect is that the folks in Pennsylvania didn't know what was happening when it was happening. It took almost three hours for plant operators to realize that radioactive steam was venture into the absence At the official state.

ideal ends of technology-comfort, safety, health and leisure-have been subordinated to the means of technology-efficiency, speed, precision, cost cutting,

i.e. profit making.

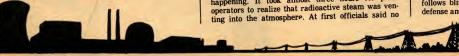
The supposed reason for developing nuclear power was to have a cheap, clean, abundant source of energy to help people in their need for electricity. But now we find that it isn't so cheap (each plant costs \$1 billion just to build it) and certainly not clean (radiation is dangerous). Yet the people who created it and profit from it are going to defend it to the death.

Technology has a way of perpetuating itself by its won inherent mechanisms and is resistent to any out-

side control or direction. When the aerospace industry proceeded with the moon launch nobody inside asked

proceeded with the moon launch nobody inside asked why we needed to go to the moon. The necessity was that the technology was available and what red-blooded American fights progress?

Once a technology is created by an industry, it doesn't matter whether there is a need for it or not. The industry, through advertising and marketing will create a need. The imperative is to keen the industry industry, through advertising and materials create a need. The imperative is to keep the industry alive, not to meet real human needs. If the created need should no longer seem viable, the industry will manufacture either a threat or a shortage. With the defense industry, the military-industrial complex has managed to keep us convinced for thirty years that the Russians still want to take over the world. The energy industry has convinced us that there is a shortage of fuel when in fact there are many sources of nonrenewable fuels and a whole variety of alternative, renewable sources as yet untapped. The government follows blindly the technology imperative giving the defense and nuclear industries their largest contracts.





Hsaio-ping enters upon the American scene. Disembarking from his flight into the light of the open runway, he acknowledges complacently the genuflecting photographers falling domino fashion at his feet. A red carpet spreads itself before him, but he rerolls it as he walks (the color is becoming increasingly distasteful to him) and passes forward, forward, forward, a march in the direction of

time Propelled from behind by Future Looking ahead to Future Seeking Future Pursuing Future

—Quite certain that Future can be reached

Teng Hsaio-ping is greeted by a smiling president
waiting at the far end of the carpet Teng allows his hand to be pressed (then smiles too, remembering that this is all being satellited to TV screens back home)

"What makes modern America modern?" is the question lying always on Teng's simple features. The answer begins with roast beef dinner at the home of the president's national security advisor who wears the all-around Yankee name Zbigniew Brzezinski.

it's eight moppets singing to Teng in Chinese, twelve Harlem Globetrotters bouncing a few, and one Rudolf Serkin (to round out the program). Let's show Teng what we can do



A new day and Teng flies again, Destination: Houston, Tex The Texan salutation is a huge banner "We Have One Billion New Friends," it waves, (in bold Arabic letters so Teng cannot miss it.) Then seven ladies in hot pants

and bow ties
dance out from behind the banner

dance out from behind the banner to the tune of The Star Spangled Banner. Here, in Tex., Teng will be a Busy Man; busy visiting Hughes Tool Co. to see the big oil drills; busy ridin' rodeo, vicariously, we ridin' busy receive the text. wearin' his very own cowboy hat; busy ridin' in the cockpit of a space shuttle simulator (a kind of sense stimulator which "reproduces sights and sounds" of spaceflight for restless earthlings); Teng o so busy with norm-ull-ah-zay-shun.

Seattle. No Banner, no bow ties on hot-panted ladies, no friendly president, just a handful of frivolous demonstrators in Mao suits. But Teng is pleased at the Boeing 747
and the highspeed tour of
scenic Seattle and Puget sound
on a Bowing jetfoil
named "The Mikado." The Boeing building that birthed the Boeing 747 (Teng is told) has the largest interior volume of any structure in the world. But before any chance for awe, Teng has been whisked off to a Long Beach oil rig, finding himself at last in Disneyland.

Teng Hsaio-ping packs off for the other side of the world carrying with him wedding gifts from this honeymoon of the new U.S.-China relationship. For his children, he will bring a set of Lego and a box of bubble gum: gifts from his new relations in Seattle.

Teng Hsaio-ping exits from the American scene.
flying once again,
but still Propelled from behind by Future
Looking ahead to Future
Seeking Future
Pursuing Future -Quite certain that Future can be reached.

# SAAG Speaks

The following statement of principles is an affirmation, both for ourselves and the Wesleyan community, of what the South Africa Action Group stands for. Furthermore, we hope to distinguish our postion ideologically from that of the Trustees who claim to "abhor apartheid". The principles stated below are by no means supposed to stand on their own as definitive arguments. Rather, they are the conarguments. Ratner, they are the Coir-clusions reached through a great deal of research and discussion over a period of time. We urge anyone in-terested who is not familiar with the arguments behind these conclusions to go through the files on reserve in Olin and Sci-Li (listed under South Africa Action Group) which provide historical background and data.

Throughout the rest of the semester SAAG will continue to put out pamphlets and write articles on the situa-tion in South Africa. We will participate tion in South Africa. We will participate in the national week of action against apartheid called by the Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, on April 4-11. (A complete schedule of events will be published in the Argus.) We also plan a benefit concert and material aid drive for South African refugees and Liberation Groups later in the spring. Our meetings are at 9:00 p.m. on Monday meetings are at 9:00 p.m. on Monday nights in Andrus lounge.

I. The fundamental purpose of the South Africa Action Group (SAAG), is to further the struggle against apar-theid in South Africa and the establish-

ment of majority rule.

SAAG recognizes that apartheid is a system of violence perpetrated by the white minority regime against black South Africans. SAAG acknowledges that it is not our role to determine to outcome of the South African struggle. However there is no neutral ground. Failure to take a stand in support of the African liberation movement is to lend tacit support to the oppressive white regime. Therefore SAAG supports all liberation groups recognized by black South Africans

South Africans.

II. The South African government is highly dependant on the West. It looks to the "White, Christian, Democratic" West, particularly the U.S. and Great Britian, as political and economic allies. Thus SAAG finds it critical that the U.S. initiate a program of sanctions to be imposed in the following areas:

a. Sanctions levied through the United Nations to

halt further investment by the U.S., Great Britain, West Germany and other major investing countries. withdraw present investments.

-curtail export of nuclear technology to South Africa. -cut off International Monetary Funds to the South African govern

ment. b. Measures initiated by the U.S.

government to -impose an embargo on trade with South Africa.

-end tax credits to corporations with direct and indirect investments in South Africa

end all bank loans to the government of South Africa and its parastatals. -cut off Export-Import Bank loans to the South African government, and to corporations for the purpose of in vestment in South Africa.

2. Political/Diplomatic: a. The U.S. should

-prohibit the South African govern -ment from distributing promotional information in the U.S.

deny visas to South African overn ment officials.
-grant recognition and semi-official

status to the liberation groups as the legitimate representatives of black South Africans

a. The U.S. should
-implement strict enforcement of the existing arms embargo.
-extend the arms embargo to cover civilian transactions.

III. U.S. corporate involvement in South Africa has bolstered apartheid. We do not believe U.S. corporate presence can exert a progressive influence in the fight for economic and continued on page 11



# Education's Investment in Ethics:

by Dennis Gaffney

Universities are increasingly being pressured by students, faculty, as well as outside forces to take ethical stands in their business transactions. Many are asking that universities divest from corporations involved in South Africa. Others are demanding that universities boycott Nestle's products because the company endangers the health of infants by its promotion of a powdered milk formula in Third World countries. At Harvard, students and faculty want the University to refuse a gift from a businessman who made his fortune from the mines of South Africa. And the list is growing.

In a letter entitled "Reflections on the Ethical Responsibilities of the University in Society, the President of Harvard University, Derek C. Bok, has responded to these pressures. President Bok contends that economic pressure by the University (in the form of divestiture, boycott, or the refusal of gifts) would threaten the academic freedom, academic commitment, educational autonomy and financial independence of the institution. In the following statement I have challenged each of the reasons which supposedly deter universities from making ethical decisions in financial matters listed in President Bok's letter.

"An institutional commitment,

"An institutional commitment, especially when carried into active support, imposes an orthodoxy upon individual members of the university community which is prejudicial to the open minded search for truth."

open-minded search for truth."
First, this statement assumes the University is avoiding an institutional political commitment in its decision not to use economic leverage. This assumption is wrong. The university has chosen an official policy concerning its finances. Choosing to wear biinders is as political and institutional a move as choosing to ethically determine economic decision. Inaction does not absolve one of guilt: it is only a passive form of complicity.

On a campus where positions are constantly being taken on issues arousing passionate feelings and heated debate, a junior faculty member hoping for tenure, a young administrator seeking a promotion, a full professor worrying about a raise in salary may feel inhibited, however slightly, from openly espousing a view contrary to the official doctrine of the university."

President Bok fears that if an official doctrine is espoused, dissenting voices will be inhibited from speaking out.
What President Bok fails to recognize is

What President Bok fails to recognize is that there will always be official doctrines whether they are written down or simply passed on verbally. We can only encourage and respect those few who speak forthrightly, regardless of organizational pressures.

Universities cannot expect to remain free of outside interference if they insist

A Low Return

> on arrogating to themselves the right to use economic leverage to influence the activity of others."

> President Bok implicitly claims that universities are presently "free from outside interference." But by refusing to act ethically in financial matters universities acknowledge their lack of freedom. The threat of coercion restricts universities as much as coercion itself.

President Bok also uses a nearsighted definition of the term "economic leverage." Although he considers divestiture and bovcott forms of economic leverage he refuses to recognize support (investment purchase etc.) as another form of economic leverage. Bolstering corporations in South Africa supports apartheid, purchasing Nestles products supports the malnutrition of Third World infants, accepting gifts from robber barons legitimizes their theft. This one-sided definition of "economic leverage" allows universities to avoid responsible financial decisions under the premise that they are preserving their academic independence.

"A heavy burden of time and effort would be placed upon members and administrators, if the university must take on the task of assuring itself of the ethical standards of all donors, all suppliers and all corporations with which it has relationships. In the end, this burdent will inevitably fall on the academic work of the institution."

The comprehensive review of which

President Bok speaks would undoubted by place a heavy burden on the university. But this assertion ignores the question at hand. The question is not whether the university can attain ethical perfection in its dealings but whether the university will act against blatant violations which have been brought to its attention. President Bok sets up a situation in which there must be all or nothing-an exhaustive review of all corporations or an ethically blind financial policy-and he deftly leaves us with nothing.

"...we should also recognize that very rarely will the insitutional acts of a single university- or even universities as a group- have any substantial possibility of putting an end to the misfortunes that exist in society...the name of Harvard may succeed in attracting attention...But we should not confuse the power to obtain publicity with the power to determine events."

This argument is often paraphrased:

This argument is often paraphrased: "What power do I, alone, have to change things?" The answer lies in the "we" rather then in the "I". What is hoped for is that the action of one group, especially a university which has the respect and influence that Harvard does, would affect other groups, whether labor unions, other universities, community groups, government official or corporations themselves. What originally is a rather isolated and symbolic act quickly mushroom into a qutte powerful one. The potential for change is there—Harvard and most other universities (including our refuse to take the lead in its formation. "Another reason for the reluctance to

"Another reason for the reluctance to sever relationships on moral or political grounds is that such actions will often cost money— whether by refusing gifts, selling stock precipitously or turning to more costly alternative sumpliers."

Finally we get to the crux, or should we say the nexus of the matter (especially at our own not-so-secure university). Other excuses cited: the protection of academic freedom, academic autonomy, academic commitment, and the inability of the university to instigate change, all wearthin next to the Almighty Dollar.

The leaders of our university

The leaders of our university (trustees and administration) also fear that the economic solvency of the university would be jeopardized if economic leverage were to be used. They say this while receiving a return of three percent of investments. Even as simple a manuever as depositing all investment into a savings account would double our most recent returns, but they hold fast to their solvency argument. Why?

argument. Why?
Part of the answer, not listed in Bok's
letter, centers around power. Trustees
and administration now have total control over financial matters. They determine how much, where and when to
spend. Their free reins are threatened
when we demand to have a say in financial matters. We must continue to work
for control of our education, whether it
concerns ethics and financial matters
or the quality of our professors. If Mr.
Bok's letter is an indication, the road is
full of many hollow words, or should we
say, empty letters...



"Today I want to talk to you about the problem of education...The present state of affairs won't do...At present, there is too much studying going on, and this is exceedingly harmful. There are too many subjects at present, and the burden is too heavy, it puts middleschool and university students in constant state of tension...The syllabus should be chopped in half. The students should have time for recreation, swimming, playing ball, and reading freely outside their course work...It wouldn't do for students just to read books all day, and not to go in for cultural pursuits, physical education, and swimming, not to be able to run around, or to read things outside their courses, etc...



...Our present method of conducting examinations is a method for dealing with the enemy, not a method for dealing with the people. It is a surprise attack, asking o blique or strange questions...I do not approve of this...I am in favour of publishing the questions in advance and letting the students study them and answer them with the aid of books...At examinations whispering into each other's ears and taking other people's places ought to be allowed. If your answer is good and I copy it, then mine should be counted as good. Whispering in other people's ears and taking examinations in other people's names used to be done secretly. Let it now be done openly...We must do things in a lively fashion, not in a lifeless fashion. There are teachers who ramble on and on when they lecture; they should let their students doze off. If your lecture is no good, why insist on others listening to you? Rather than keeping your eyes open and listening to boring lectures, it is better to get some refreshing sleep. You don't have to listen to nonsense, you can rest your brain instead."

--Chairman Mao Tsetung The Spring Festival on Education, Summary Record February 1964

# Education as Commodity

Hermes Page 5

April 5, 1979

# Public Education Failure c

### By Robert Taylor and Stephen Ward

Public education in America: a huge, puffing, whirring, and wheezing machine. Dating back to the midnineteenth century, the machine first appeared alongside New England mills and factories. Since its invention, experts with clipboards and panel studies have crowded about the machine. They ever seek to fine tune this year's balance between "efficiency" and "humaneness". They are ever "reform-minded". Yet, for all the commotion, an essential question is seldom heard above the din: "What does the machine do?"

The failure to understand the function of the public

school system is what has historically doomed best intentions to compromise and failure. What are the hows and whys of this breakdown in understanding?
The machine pumps out clouds of smoke and haze in the form of myths. Experts and reformers become caught up in this hot air—that schools are the foundations of our social meritocracy, that schools are primarily concerned with the teaching of cognitive skills, that school exist to further the cause of universal

learning and democracy.

The purpose of this article is to prove that the real yet often obscured function of the public school machine is to reproduce the existing social order. Acknowledging this fact indicts many of the beliefs liberal reformers hold. The faith that social inequality can be fought through the school is the most vulnerable. For if the machine recreates a society ridden with identical or more sophisticated inequalities than those in an earlier one, the hope that social chang will come through an educational system is entirely

A review and analysis of the history of school structures proves these points. What is ultimately suggested by this piece and its sources is that, to achieve even liberal ideals of education, radical changes must be made in the classrooms only after they are made in the class structure of the larger society

## Historiography as Coverup

The nineteenth century was a time of profound and violent change in American society. Its economic base was undergoing transformation from rural to urban, agricultural to industrial. This revolution was accompanied by a shattering of traditional social norms: the family and the church, in the new urban environment, to lose their capacity to function as the primary socializing institutions within society. Occupational and social roles, along with other norms, were no longer securely transmitted along generational lines. Cities increasingly spawned chaotic slums as a mass of European immigrants joined native worker who had left agrarian employment. Both groups provided cheap labor power in urban centers for the profit-mongering industrial elite.

This was the historical setting which gave rise to the This was the historical setting which gave rise to the universal, compulsory, state-run school system. In the words of historian Bernard Bailyn, public schooling became the "entire process by which our culture transmitted itself across the generations.
Traditional educational historiography frames the development of the public school as a concession by the state to sate demands of labor and humanitarian movement of the period. Certainly, as always was increasing.

ment of the period. Certainly, as labor was increasingly exploited, unions began to demand state intervention. A contemporary union organizer expressed the sentiment, "Nothing will force the governing classes to recognize the working man's claims and judge them fairly until they find him wresting into his own hands real political power." But traditional historians are too quick to characterize labor's perception of the public school system as a pliable source of "real political

Workers, as will be discussed later, heard the schoolshaping ideology as that of the owners and mange-ment. Mainstream historiography likewise tends to

ment. Mainstream historiography likewise tends to underplay and undercritique ruling-class exuberance at having another means of strengthening and perpetuating the political system.

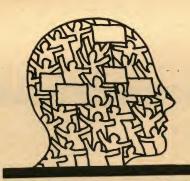
The first federal Commissioner of Education, william T. Harris, put forth the line which would soon be heard coming from the mouths of "enlightened" capitalists. "The modern industrial community," he caid "canned exists without free powless education car. said, "cannot exist without free popular education car-ried out in a system of schools ascending from the primary grade to the university." Against such expres-sions of the operating ideology of the the schools, wishful thinking on the part of mainstream historians is unwarranted. For example, R. Freeman Butts' nar-row analysis that "the original intent in creating a system of universal, free, compulsory and secular public shcools was thus a political purpose. It was to enable peoples who came from diverse...backgrounds to achieve a sense of community, and to acquire the common values of a democratic polity," clearly does not jibe with reality. His words are loyal to the myth that pervades much educational thought today: the working class could and did gain political power and social mobility through the educational system.

Statements and documents of the age attest to the openits. Pallan discusses in his receipt the differs of the statements and the statements and documents of the age attest to the openits. Pallan discusses in his receipt the differs of

posite. Bailyn discusses in his research the efforts of "educational missionaries" operating from their posts on business and school boards, invariably, to have their own interests served. David Tyack, an educa-tional historian, relates the machinations of the New York Free School Society, a group of philanthropic in-dustrialists who oversaw the precursor to a system of city schools. "They sent out ladies to recruit the poor 'by soothing words' and asked employers to coerce parents to send children to school." Tyack quotes an in-fluential Irish Catholic leader as saying of the Society, "they pretend that they have the confidence of the

Even a cursory examination of the social and economic factors influencing education in the in pretwentieth century American challenges the tidy conclusions of Laurence Cremin, Butts, and other bourgeois historians of education. Writing at the beginning of this century, Frank Carlston observes more properly that "economic and social conditions are the sources from which spring educational methods and ideals rather than the reverse." Yet this connection, until recently, has been left largely unexplored. The work of many scholars today begins with a nod to the fact that public education formed only where industrial capitalism developed. That economic imperatives preceed and determine the form and scope of educational expansion is a key realization to those interested in educational revolution.

Working Class Boon?
The traditional assumption that public education was a demand voiced by the working class is fallacious. UMass economists Sam Bowles and Herb fallacious. UMass economists Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis have presented vivid accounts of working class resistence to public schools in the Massachusetts mill towns of Beverly and Lowell. Radical educational historian Michael Katz, in several books, has documented the hostility of the urban poor to the public school system foisted upon them. "Very simply," he states, "the extension and reform of education in the mid-nineteenth century were not a pot pourri of democracy, rationalism and humanitarianism. They were an attempt of a coalition of social leaders, status arrious narrents, and status hungry educators to imanxious parents, and status hungry educators to impose educational innovation, each for their own reason, upon a reluctant community." But here, even Katz upon a reinctant community. But in capitalist America is primarily determined by occupation, the subservience of education to economics implies other connections. The capitains and middle-level managers of industry have always participated omnipresently, if seemingly indirectly, in the structuring of the educa-



## School as Workplace

To review, the primary aim of public education has ever been to replace the no longer efficient institutions of the family and church in guiding newer generations into the larger world of capitalist social relations. "To induct the child into the adult world...was the duty of the school: the important duty to act as a medium fell upon the school in general, and upon the primary school in particular," says Katz. This was accomplishsensor in particular, says Natz. This was accomplish-ed by shaping the schools into factories, structuring the classroom to mirror the workplace. "The social rela-tions of the school would replicate the social relations of the workplace, and thus help young people to adopt to the social division of labor," Bowles and Gintis



Thus, the education machine was to teach children behavior appropriate to job performance in the capitalist America: discipline, docility, punctuality, acceptance of authority outside of the family, individual accountability for failure, etc. Commissioner Harris put it up front: "The first requisite of the school is Order: each pupil must be taught first and foremost the conform his behavior to a general standard. The conform his behavior to a general standard, time, must rise at the tap of the bell, move to the line return; in short, go through all the evolutions with equal precision."

The immense task assigned to the educator was to supply individuals with a set of "inner restraints." The teacher became the children's first boss, in addition to being part-parent, part-pastor. In their sweeping and convincing analysis, Bowles and Gintis have sumconvincing analysis, bowless and Gillus have sum-marized "the birth and early development of universal education was sparked by the critical need for a stable work force and a citizenry reconciled, if not inured, to the wage labor system." The job of the teacher, and later, of the guidance department and remedial specialists, was to "catch'em young."

Social Tinder and Public Schooling Nineteenth century industrial America, shading into the twentieth, was a society torn by class conflict. Workers were seen as violent, drunken, and undisciplined. Education demigod Horace Mann characterized the unquiet working class as "wild beasts that prove their right to devour by showing their teeth." Michael Katz is not overstating the case with his assessment that "the strongest impulse behind the founding of public educational system was what today we would call the urge for law and order, or the attempt to socialize the urban poor to behavior that will decrease crime, diminish expenditures on public welfare, promote safety on the streets and contribute to industrial productivity."

Besides educators themselves, the most vocal advocates of school reform have often been those able to buy or buy influence in school-structuring decision. J.P. Morgan was not the first capitalist to fund educational innovation; not suprisingly, his contribution took the form of aid to trade schools. Capitalists formed and joined pro-school societies, and later school boards. Such philanthropy, to be sure, served the class interest of the industrial elite.

As the urban masses were being swept into public schools, the need for efficiency in dealing with larger numbers forced school to adopt bureaucratic models of control. Katz reminds us that modern bureaucracy is bourgeois invention; it represents "a crystalization of bourgeois social attitudes." When this structure was perfected in the 1880's, the "public spirited" in-dustrialists and financiers faded into the background of control. They could well afford to cede control of the educational system to bourgeois bureaucrats; in them capitalists had an ally in perpetuating the economic and social pyramid.

# Capitalist America: s Function



Again, we point out that the public education was not originally demanded by workers. Countering myths that say otherwise, we can see that public schooling has historically been "something the better part of the community did to others to make them orderly, moral and tractable," in Katz's words. It was the rich man's burden to colonize and civilize the young minds of members of other classes. By no means has the school system been a mechanism through which the society at large was unified through the belief and participation in a particular form of government. Rather, it has been a tool used by one group to insure its surivival in a fragmented and unequal society.

The Schools Today

"The structure of American urban education has not changed since the late nineteenth century; by 1880, the basic features of public education in most major cities were the same as they are today," is Michael Katz's preface to this discussion. Schools are massive and, for the most part, efficient bureaucracies. Their structures mirror highly organized, hierarchically arranged modern industry. One critic has observed that "the

value system is right out of Standard Oil."

As in the past, the classroom is still a microcosm of the workplace: students forfeit control of their education just as workers are forced to forfeit control of their labor to management. The school bureaucracy is still, as a bourgeois invention, staffed by the middle-class. It promotes middle-class values as it is in the business of preserving the status quo.

The "Hidden Curriculum"

Beneath the film of frills, the primary task of schools is to teach what social critics Ivan Illich and Eric Reimer call the "hidden curriculum." It is the corporate equivilent of industrial submission, by which all are taught habits of self-compromise and trucation of the human spirit.

Schools are not concerned with the distribution of cognitive knowledge. The commitment to the hidden curriculum precludes it, for precisely the reason revolutionary educator Paulo Freire infers in the following definition. "Education either functions as an instrument which is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it or it becomes 'the practice of freedom', the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and women dear critically and clearly and rearry and rearry and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world." Cognitive knowledge may be subversive-literacy as a revolutionary tool. To counter this possibility, "inner restraint" becomes curriculum to perpetrate the inhibiting system of social relations under capitalism

Further, Ivan Illich asserts that "compulsory education, like compulsory love, is a contradiction in terms."
Our educational system is founded on the unsupportable assumption that learning is a passive function.

True learning is an active, self-motivated process True learning is an active, self-motivated process. Thus, cognitive learning is actually but an occasional by-product in school, as it "occurs only so far as resources remain after the built-in functions are performed,"concludes Reimer. The "hidden curriculum" is triumphant, with many of its ugly, antihuman manifestations: detention, recess, hall passes, etc.

We are taught that "valuable learning is the result of

attendence; that the value of learning increases with this amount of imput; and finally, that this value can be measured and documented by grades and cer-tificates,"specifies Illich. We learn to accept the labels and classifications thrust upon us by "authorities." We learn to pledge allegience to the culture-biased and legitimate form of stratification. In short, conclude Bowles and Gintis, we learn to accept our objective position within the social and economic hierarchy.

The "hidden curriculum" today, then, is the crux of the public school system, just as it was a hundred years ago. Martin Carnoy accurately states that schools "socialize young people to work for external rewards and encourage them to develop motivational struc-tures fit for the alienating work of the capitalist economy." It is the hidden curriculum which works to reproduce existing and unequal economic and social relationships

Clearly, the belief that compulsory public education is capable of being an equalizing agent, the foundation of a social meritocracy, exposes itself as absurd. Schools, as an institution designed for the socialization of successive generations of youth, are bound to be conservative in practive. By nature, write sociologists of education Parelis and Parelis, they perpetuate current cultural patterns and discourage deviation from them.
Author and educational philosopher, Maxine Green extrapolates, "Assuming a prevailing inequality in this
society...we also have to assume a pervasive injustice that affects the functioning of all institutions-including

Reformist efforts to make the schools meritocratic institutions have failed—and are doomed to more of the same, until sweeping changes are made in the larger social and economic realm. For those who would look to schools as a means of mobility, especially from the lowest reaches of society, the outlook is bleak. Data on economics and eduction, recently interpreted, prove that indqualities still remain and appear not to be diminishing. Green continues, "No effort to put the onus on genetic determinism, environmental attrition, or what Christopher Jencks in his study entitled Inequality calls "luck" can disguise the fact that schools have failed the poor." Failure is function.

The reason for failure is simple, if rarely recognized: the schools are not, and never were, designed to be social equilizers. In truth, they are the generators of in-equality, and its mechanics must be examined.

Success in school, and therefore success in future oc-cupational status, is dependent on non-cognitive personality traits: how well one fares with the hidden curriculum. These personality traits are extremely



culture bound and class-biased. Bowles and Gintis, in a study of a New York highschool, concluded that the stu-"aggressive", or "independent who was "creative". dent who was "creative", "aggressive", or "independent" would be penalized, while one who was "perserverent", "dependable", "consistent", able to "identify with school" and "defer gratification", "punctual," or "predictable" would be rewarded. The upshot of the research was found in interviews with job supervisors. The supervisors valued and disapproved of traits in patterns identical to those of schools

Preference for certain personality traits are invariably part of any scheme of "merit." And because schools define "merit" according to the class interest most served by the schools, it is no more tnan "a smokescreen for the perpetuation of privilege," in Reimer's words. Mechanisms of "merit" used in schools do not liberate the individual or open up oppor-tunities for social mobility for working or underclass members. "The social-class biases that pervade the educational system and the bureaucratic control structures that give force to those biases produce schools that reflect and confirm the social structure by pro-cessing children to fit into slots roughly congruent with the status of their parents," Michael Katz definitively

The analysis offered by Bowles and Gintis concurs.

They further remind those listening that the institution of public education did not occur through an historical accident. Instead, the conscious policies of capitalists and their intellectual servants created and continue to shape the contours of the public education system in

The Meaning of the Findings
Education in America is a fraud. For the primary ideological defense of our modern capitalist society rests upon the false belief that the equalizing effects of our educational system can effectively combat the disequalizing forces inherent in the free-market economy. This article has presented the argument sup-porting the charge that public education is highly unequal. Still, many cling to the illusion that educational inequalities are a passing phenomenon, inequalities as holdovers from a less enlightened era which are being eliminated at the present. But it is a myth that the school can equalize. Likewise mythical is the belief which holds that skills taught in school are specifically relevant in occupational life, except those of "inner

restraint."
The continous extension of educational facilities has never been in response to progressive working class demands. If they ever had, schools would not resemble what they are today. Rather, the form and function of the public school system are the result of the bourgeois movement to force the working class to conform to bourgeois values. "We must face the painful fact," says Katz, "that his country has never, on any large scale, known vital urban schools, ones which embrace, and are embraced by the mass of the community, which formulates their goals in terms of the joy of the individual instead of the fear of social dynamite or the imperatives of economic growth."

The claim is made by conservative educators and educational historians that even if the public education system does reinforce social inequalities, schools are still necessary to teach people to participate in and better a democratic society. Critics Don Robertson and Marion Steele eloquently respond. To quote them at

"Take a look at this incredible irony: The going propaganda line in American has it that mass education is a central pillar of democracy, that we educate our young people so that they will be free, knowledgable citizens who are able to make discriminating judgements and think for themselves. So how do we train people for freedom and democracy? We put them through a twelve - or sixteen - or twenty year course in slavery. We put them in an oppressive, authoritarian structure where all the important decisions are made by superiors, where all their time is ruled by superiors, and where their superiors are armed with all sorts of punitive weapons. We dictate the truth to them and make it impossible for them to make important conclu-sions by themselves. Up through High School, we stop them in the hall and find out if they have a legitimate reason for escaping the classroom. We make them pitifully dependent upon the approval of superiors. We even channel them into the right kind of jobs. We give them a totally disoriented picture of how their society works and what the occasional political comedy they will witness really means. We tell them that anything outside of the middle road (acceptable variations of the status quo) is unpatriotic and dangerous and evil. That's how we prepare free citizens for participation in

By the time the schools are finished with young people, there is little chance that any other superiors will ever have any trouble with them.

sam Bowles, in a recent talk at Wesleyan, urged recognition of the "parting of the ways" between capitalism and democracy. This aritcle urges the same distance be perceived between education and capitalism. The latter makes a travesty of the former, in philosophy and practice. It perverts the liberal ideal of knowledge and learning and prevents the liberal teg goals of social mobility and equality. True reform can only come through, to use Bowles and Gintis' grouping, "Education, Socialism. and Revolution."

# Public Education Failure as Function Capitalist Americ

loes the machine do?" r "reform-minded". Yet etween "efficiency" and nachine first appeared and factories. Since its a: a huge, puffing, whirr Dating back to the mid oards and panel studies

ner the cause of universal racy, that schools are re teaching of cognitive t schools are the founda ds of smoke and haze in down in understanding? failure. What are the he function of the public torically doomed best inand reformers become

e history of school strucional system is entirely e hope that social change ophisticated inequalities e recreates a society ridith that social inequality e school is the most is to prove that the real
n of the public school
e existing social order.
cts many of the beliefs

fter they are made in the is that, to achieve even adical changes must be

un school system. In the g which gave rise to the or the profit-mongering native worker who had aotic slums as a mass of long generational lines other norms, were no function as the primary tional social norms: the on from rural to urban, revolution was accomciety. Its economic base ew urban environment, a time of profound and

oriography frames the by which our culture

common values of a democratic polity," clearly does not jibe with reality. His words are loyal to the myth that pervades much educational thought today: the working class could and did gain political power and social mobility through the educational system.

Statements and documents of the age attest to the op-

posite. Bailyn discusses in his research the efforts of "educational missionaries" operating from their posts on business and school boards, invariably, to have their own interests served. David Tyack, an educational historian, relates the machinations of the New York Free School Society, a group of philanthropic industrialists who oversaw the precursor to a system of city schools. "They sent out ladies to recruit the poor by soothing words' and asked employers to coerce parents to send children to school." Tyack quotes an influential Irish Catholic leader as saying of the Society, "they pretend that they have the confidence of the poor."

capitalism developed. That economic imperatives preceed and determine the form and scope of educational expansion is a key realization to those interested sources from which spring educational methods and ideals rather than the reverse." Yet this connection, until recently, has been left largely unexplored. The work of many scholars today begins with a nod to the cort that public education formed only where industrial fact that public education formed only where industrial for the large of the cort of the control of the cort of bourgeois historians of education. Writing at the begin-ning of this century, Frank Carlston observes more properly that "economic and social conditions are the Even a cursory examination of the social and economic factors influencing education in the in pre-twentieth century American challenges the tidy con-clusions of Laurence Cremin, Butts, and other

America is primarily determined by occupation, the subservience of education to economics implies other connections. The captains and middle-level managers of industry have always participated omnipresently, if towns of 'Beverly and Lowell. Radical educational historian Michael Katz, in several books, has documented the hostility of the urban poor to the public school system fosited upon them. "Very simply," he states, "the extension and reform of education in the The traditional assumption that public education was a demand voiced by the working class is fallacious. UMass economists Sam Bowles and Herb Gintis have presented vivid accounts of working class resistence to public schools in the Massachusetts mill of industry have always participated omnipresently, if seemingly indirectly, in the structuring of the educapose educational innovation, each for their own reason, upon a reluctant community." But here, even Katz understates the case. Because status in capitalist were an attempt of a coalition of social leaders, status anxious parents, and status hungry educators to immid-nineteenth century were not a pot pourri of democracy, rationalism and humanitarianism. They tional system. Working Class Boon?

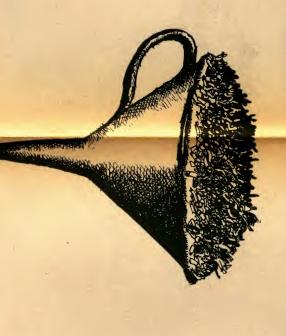
Thus, the education machine was to teach children behavior appropriate to job performance in the capitalist America: discipline, docility, punctuality, acceptance of authority outside of the family, individual accountability for failure, etc. Commissioner Harris put it up front: "The first requisite of the school is Order: each pupil must be taught first and foremost to conform his behavior to a general standard...The pupil must have his lessons ready at the appointed time, must rise at the tap of the bell, move to the line.

return; in short, go through all the evolutions with equal precision."

The immense task assigned to the educator was to supply individuals with a set of "inner restraints." The teacher became the children's first boss, in addition to being part-parent, part-pastor. In their sweeping and convincing analysis, Bowles and Gintis have summarized "the birth and early development of universal education was sparked by the critical need for a stable work force and a citizenry reconciled, if not inured, to the wage labor system." The job of the teacher, and later, of the guidance department and remedial later, of the guidance department and remedial specialists, was to "catch em young."

Social Tinder and Public Schooling

Nineteenth century industrial America, shading into the twentieth, was a society forn by class conflict. Workers were seen as violent, drunken, and undisciplined. Education demigod Horace Mann characterized the unquiet working class as "wild beasts that prove their right to devour by showing their teeth." Michael Kalz is not overstating the case with



Again, we point out that the public education was not originally demanded by workers. Countering myths that say otherwise, we can see that public schooling has historically been "something the better part of the community did to others to make them orderly, moral and tractable," in Katz's words. It was the rich man's burden to colonize and civilize the young minds of members of other classes. By no means has the school system been a mechanism through which the society at a tool used by one group to insure its surivival in a fragmented and unequal society. large was unified through the belief and participation in a particular form of government. Rather, it has been

the most part, efficient bureaucracies. Their struc-tures mirror highly organized, hierarchically arrang-ed modern industry. One critic has observed that "the value system is right out of Standard Oil."

As in the past, the classroom is still a microcosm of basic features of public education in most major cities were the same as they are today," is Michael Katz's preface to this discussion. Schools are massive and, for The Schools Today
"The structure of American urban education has not changed since the late nineteenth century; by 1880, the

tion just as workers are forced to forfeit control of their labor to management. The school bureaucracy is still, as a bourgeois invention, staffed by the middle-class. It promotes middle-class values as it is in the business of the workplace: students forfeit control of their educa-

> resources remain after the bullt-in functions are per-formed, 'concludes Reimer. The 'hidden curriculum'' is triumphant, with many of its ugly, antihuman manifestations: detention, recess, hall passes, etc. We are taught that "valuable learning is the result of True learning is an active, self-motivated process. Thus, cognitive learning is actually but an occasional by-product in school, as it "occurs only so far as

position within the social and economic hierarchy tificates, "specifies Illich. We learn to accept the labels and classifications thrust upon us by "authorities." We learn to pledge allegience to the culture-biased and legitimate form of stratification. In short, conclude Bowles and Gintis, we learn to accept our objective attendence; that the value of learning increases with this amount of imput; and finally, that this value can be measured and documented by grades and cer-

The "hidden curriculum" today, then, is the crux of the public school system, just as it was a hundred years ago. Martin Carnoy accurately states that schools, "socialize young people to work for external rewards tures fit for the alienating work of the capitalist economy." It is the hidden curriculum which works to reproduce existing and unequal economic and social and encourage them to develop motivational struc-

Author and educational philosopher, Maxine Green ex-trapolates, "Assuming a prevailing inequality in this society...we also have to assume a pervasive injustice Clearly, the belief that compulsory public education is capable of being an equalizing agent, the foundation of a social meritocracy, exposes itself as absurd. Schools, as an institution designed for the socialization of successive generations of youth, are bound to be conservative in practice. By nature, write sociologists of the public school. that affects the functioning of all institutions-including education Parelis and Parelis, they perpetuate current cultural patterns and discourage deviation from them.

economics and eduction, recently interpreted, prove that indqualities still remain and appear not to be diminishing. Green continues, "No effort to put the onus on genetic determinism, environmental attrition, or what Christopher Jencks in his study entitled Inequality calls "luck" can disguise the fact that schools have failed the poor. "Failure is function.

The reason for failure is simple, if rarely recognized: the schools are not, and never were, designed to be considered. same, until sweeping changes are made in the larger social and economic realm. For those who would look to schools as a means of mobility, especially from the lowest reaches of society, the outlook is bleak. Data on economics and eduction, recently interpreted, prove Reformist efforts to make the schools meritocratic institutions have failed-and are doomed to more of the

social equilizers. In truth, they are the generators of in-equality, and its mechanics must be examined.

Marion Steele length, "Take a look

system does a

The claim

cupational status, is dependent on non-cognitive personality traits: how well one fares with the hidden cur-

young people citizens who

tures that give members. "7 educational s tunities for s Reimer's wo cessing child chools do no

They further; of public educaccident. Inst and their inte shape the cor the United Sta the status of

disequalizing economy. This ideological de rests upon the our education

eliminated at school can ec which holds th porting the ch qual. Still, ma holdovers from

the public schumovement to bourgeois valt says Katz, "t scale, known v and are embi which formul. individual ins never been in demands. If the what they are The contino

restraint."

Success in school, and therefore success in future oc

# Education as Commodity

Some more of "My Favorite Things" (to the tune of...)

By Leslie Landau

Come in September with smiles on our faces Just to find classes have no open spaces Shop-arounds shortened-four days (maybe less) Gee but its dandy returning to Wes

Underpaid clerical workers abounding Meanwhile the hike in tuitions astounding Inverstments supportin apartheid state Isn't returning to Wes really great?

'Insufficient Publication' So our profs are canned We've only to think of these cute little tricks To know we're at Weslevan.

Closed out of classes with too many pupils Friends in North College seem quite without scruples This year we're housed at the infirmary Next we'll pitch tents right outside CBT

Atticus foul-ups; we can't do our readings Deans leading groups that enjoy secret meetings Tenure decisions we're powerless to fight Policy that becomes law overnight.

What about our Reputation? Screams each dear trustee.

Just look at decisions that have just been made Then you'll see where we'll soon be



'I wish that you'd make up your mind; I wish that

you'd decide
That I should live as freely as those who live outside
Cause we also are entitled to the rights to be endowed.
And when I've got something to say, sir, I'm gonna say

I've read of other countries where the students take a

They've even helped to overthrow the leaders of the Now, I wouldn't go so far to say we're also learning

But when I've got something to say, sir, I'm gonna say

So keep right on a-talking and tell us what to do, But if nobody listens, my apologies to you. And I know that you were younger once, cause you sure

And when I've got something to say, sir, I'm gonna say

Oh I am just a student, sir, and I only want to learn, But it's hard to read through the rising smoke from the

books that you like to burn. So I'd like to make a promise, and I'd like to make a

That when I've got something to say, sir, I'm gonna say

-Phil Ochs I'm Gonna Say It Now

"Neither learning nor justice is promoted by schooling because educators insists on packaging instruction with certification. Learning and the assignment of social roles are melted into schooling...Learning frequently is the result of instruction, but selection for a role or category in the job market increasingly depends on mere length of attendance.

> -Ivan Illich Deschooling Society

proval, the student elevates the professor, thereby owering the estimate of her/his own capabilities Ceasing to trust one's own judgement, the student ac-tively participates in creating the hierarchical studentteacher relationship.

After acknowleging th power of the teacher, the student experiences a vulnerability in writing papers which extends into the classroom dynamics. While this vulnerability is often subtle and successfully masked, it is still an underlying dimension of the student-teacher relationship. It often compells students to competer for recognition and further isolates them from one another, Isolation promotes further competition and elevation of the professor. It can be clearly seen that once this power relationship is established, it becomes

self-perpetuating.
We would like to propose as an alternative the possibility of writing papers collectively, therefore emphasizing the learning process as well as the finished Through creating a writing environment in which students can support and criticize on another, the feeling of dependency on the professor for approval, and the fear of being judged are decreased. By giving students a chance to work together and learn from each other, collective writing

A Feminist **Alternative** in the Classroom

By Jean Wagner and Katherine Kohrman

We have to learn to live now the future we are fighting for, rather than compromising in vain hope of a juture that is always agjerred, always unreal. This creative leap implies a kind of recklessness born out of the death of false hope.

Mary Daly Beyond God The Father

Sexism pervades the university on an institutional as well as an individual level. We all have many stories to tell of sexism which we have encountered in day-to-day experiences. It is not often, however, that we examine the underlying assumptions and values which the university as a patriarchal institution is built upon. Without understanding the basis of this all-pervasive sexism, we cannot see these familiar experiences in their larger context. Understanding them as manifestations of a greater and more complex system provides a framework upon which we can enact radical change. In this article we propose some feminist alternatives to what we see as destructive characteristics of our current educational system, such as the hierar-chical power relationship between professor and student which breeds competition, a need to gain approval, judge-mentalness, individualism, and isolation

ov both students and professors.

These symptoms of hierarchy which exist in the classroom be readily observed through the dynamics of paper-writing. Papers are traditionally written in-dividually by students and then critiqued and graded by one reader, the professor. Having a paper ready by s/he alone, turns it into an academic exercise and wastes an opportunity for students to share insights from each other's analyses. This also familiarizes the professor with each of the students, but does nothing to establish communication between the students themselves. Moreover, by retaining the right to, criticize and praise, the professor is placed in a pois

In this system whereby feedback is only obtained from the professor, students learn to accept that judgement as the ultimate word. This tends to alter student motivation, increasing the desire and need for the pro-fessor's approval. An increased emphasis is placed on the finished written product as a measurement of the student's capabilities, and what is learned in the writing process itself is devalued. In seeking this ap

reduces isolation and competition in the classroom. It may also reduce the student's fear of judgement and her/his sense of vulnerability. ideally, students would be able to write papers individually and still incor-porate this de-emphasis of judgement and approval. However, this may have to wait until we have established new patterns of giving and receiving feed-back. One way this process might be accelerated, would be if all students in a seminar were to read and discuss one another's papers.

Alleviating the traditional power imbalance inherent in paper writing has the potential of changing the classroom dynamics entirely. By enabling the student to listen to the professor's criticism more openly and without becoming dependent upon it, the professor assumes a more realistic and de-elevated position. As a result, more attention becomes focused on the group as a whole. Other manifestations of the power imbalance in the classroom might also change. Class discussions, evaluations and grading, as well as the burden of organizational responsibilities could all be more equally shared and less hierarchical.

We know that the power hierarchy is not inherent in the teacher-student relationship. We believe that a teacher can share her/his specialized knowledge with teacher can share her/ms specialized aniowedge with the students without setting this into motion. There is a definite place in the educational system for the teacher's criticism of the student's work. However, there should always be an understanding amongst the students and the teacher that the teacher's word is not

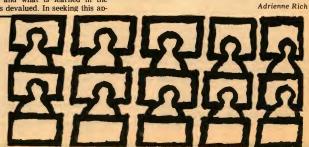
We have called this a feminist alternative because it adheres to feminist values which we share, such as the belief in an egalitarian, non-hierarchical, noncompetitive society, an emphasis on community and learning through personal experience, and an em-phasis on working collectively in small group. In many ways, the seminar classroom is an ideal place to create this alternative. In the spirit of Mary Daly, we must begin to live our visions of the future now.

> Such are the secret outcomes of revolution! That two women can meet no longer as cramped sharers of a bitter mutual secret but as two eyes in one brow, Receiving at one moment the rainbow of the world



"When I think back on all the crap I learned in high school It's a wonder I can think at all But my lack of education has hurt me none I can read the writing on the wall'

-Paul Simon



# **Red Writing on Ivied Walls**

"Marxists, as blind followers of party dogma, are incapable of independent thought." Such was the rationale for excluding Marxists from the academic community until the late 1960s. Nowadays, things have changed somewhat. Marxists have not only entered the academy, but have achieved prestige and positions of responsibility. However, even on the eve of the 1980s, radical professors still face discrimination.

The absence of Marxism in America's institutions of higher learning is an old tradition with few notable exceptions. During the cold war period of the 1950s it became even more dif-ficult for academic Marxists to find and keep faculty appointments. Although the ban was primarily an attempt to protect American institutions, it was due, in part, to the academic communi-ty's ignorance of Marxism. Also, American Marxism was for the most part unsophisticated.

This began to change during the political unrest of the 1960s. Student activists, looking for a better understan-ding of the basis of the events which confronted them, turned to Marx. Because there were no Marxist pro-fessors, radicals studied Marx during their free time, either on their own or in collectives.

As these radical scholars emerged from graduate schools, colleges and universities began hiring more Marxists. Part of this can be attributed to a general softening of the cold war mentility. In the support suitings played a as a direct response to student pressure, others as a drawing card. Educational institutions, like all businesses, must compete for clients. As the demand for Marxists instruction

As the demand for Marxists instruction increased, so did the incentives to hire Marxist instructors. Such moves became more palatable as the quality of Marxist scholarship improved.

Currently Marxism is becoming much more respectable. Most academic disciplins have wellestablished left-wing organizations. The Union of Radical Political Economics presents an alternative to Economics presents an alternative to the American Economic Association. The president of the Organization of American Historians, Eugene Genovese, is a Marxist. Mainstream journals and commercial publishers are accepting increasing amounts of radical material.

These gains are real but limited. They do not mean that Marxism has achieved academic parity with traditional viewpoints. A number of problems still exist. One is that the number of Marxists in the academy is still quite small. At Wesleyan, perhaps fifteen professors, or 6 percent of the faculty, would consider themselves Marxists or neo-Marxists, but this is an unusually high percentage. State and community colleges, which the majority of students attend, often have no Marxists; few have more that a couple.

Radical teachers sometimes find that is is easier to find a job than to keep one. The tenure system, supposedly designed to guarantee academic

freedom, only insures that the weeding or flowering out process takes place during the first six or seven years. This during the first six or seven years. Inis process presents special problems for Marxists. Occasionally radical views are openly criticized, but the discrimination is usually much more subtle. Publications in left-wing journals described as even year much weight as nals do not carry as much weight as materials published in the mainstream press. Anti-Marxist professors are like-ly to consider Marxist writings unscholarly and their authors incompetent. Colleagueship, an important fac-tor in tenure decisions, is less likely to develop between people with opposing political views.

political views.
Even tenured faculty members require peer acceptance for various personal and professional reasons. Radical professors at all levels must often remain closet Marxists or risk discrimination and ostracism. The end result is a loss of academic freedom.

result is a loss of academic freedom.

McCarthyism still plagues the
academy. As recently as February 20,
Thomas Magstadt, chairman of the
department of political science at
Augustana College, wrote in The
Chronicle of Higher Education that
Marxists were too dogmatic and doctrinaire to be capable of critical thinking. A member of the Board of Regents of the University of Maryland recently stated that he doesn't want any Marxists on the faculty even though he admist that he doesn't know what Marx-

Ism is.

Even if they find secure employment,
Marxist professors must consider the
political efficacy of their presence in
the academic world. According to
Richard Ohmann, Professor of English,
"Academic life diverts energy from social movements. Many professors become armchair Marxists and Marx-ologists."

However, Ohmann feels that, "The main task (of Marxists) is educational." In Politics and Education

Marxists teachers want to reawaken the students to relations, especially those between various ideas and the way society is organized. And they want students to understand political and social and personal life as part of a whole changing reality - that of advanced capitalism.

Marxist professors hope to empower students by raising their consciousness.

Some educators complain that there is a lack of political movements with which to associate. Others see teaching

which to associate. Others see teaching as a way to support themselves and political struggles simultaneously. The future growth of Marxism in the academy is likely to be impeded by two factors. First, few new faculty members will be hired in the next fifteen years. Second, Marxist programs of the recognition and marginal so teen years. Second, Marxis programs are often expansive and marginal so they are likely to be victims of cutbacks. Harry Edwards, a black radical who was denied tenure at Berkeley wrote, "After Vietnam, there's got to be some adjustment in the universities about who will set the new definitions or reality in this country. Under the pre-

"If you want knowledge, you must take part in the practice of changing reality. If you want to know the taste of a pear, you must change the pear by eating it yourself. If you want to know the structure and properties of the atom, you must make physical and chemical experiments to change the state of the atom. If you want to know the theory and methods of revolution, you must take part in revolution. All genuine knowledge orginates in direct experience."

-- Mao Tsetung July 1937



# Education as



"Ideally, what should be said to every child, repeatedly, throughout his or her school life is something like

this:
"You are in the process of being indoctrinated. We have not yet evolved a system of education that is not a system of indoctrination. We are sorry, but it is the best we can do. What you are being taught her is an amalgam of current prejudice and the choices of this particular culture. The slightest look at history will show how impermanent these must be. You are being trucht hy needle whe have here able to accomplate taught by people who have been able to accomodate themselves to a regime of thought laid down by their predecessors. It is a self-perpetuating system. Those of you who are more robust and individual than others, will be enoucraged to leave and find ways of educating yourself--and all the time, that they are being moulded and patterned to fit into the narrow and particular needs of this particular society."

...The point is, we are all so used to (our system of education)...we no longer see how bad it is."

-- Doris Lessing from the Introduction to The Golden Notebook

# Commodity

consequence of work's becoming wage-labor which deprived man of the opportunity to create and be recreated. Now young people are prealienated by schools that isolate them while they pretend to be both producers and consumers of their own knowledge which is conceived as a commodity put on the market in school. School makes alienation prepatory to life in school. School makes alienation prepatory to lite, thus depriving education of reality and work of creativity. School prepares for the alienating institutionalization of life by teaching them the need to be taught. Once this lesson is learned, people lose their incentive to grow in independence; they no longer find relatedness attractive, and close themselves off to the surprises which life offers when it is not predetermined by institutional definition. And school directly or indirectly employs a major portion of the population. School either keeps people for life or makes sure that they will fit into some institution.

The New World Church is the knowledge industry, both purveyor of opium and the workbench during an increasing number of years of an individual's life. Deschooling is, therefore, at the root of any movement for human liberation."

-Ivan Illich Deschooling Society



sent circumstances, blacks, women, other Third World people, radicals, have been the first to go."
Nonetheless, Marxist scholarship should continue to grow now that students are able to receive training under Marxist professors. Also, Ohmann suggests that Marxism "will be the programme of the training training to the programme of the programme continue to grow because it is a power-ful understanding of the world."

The following examples suggest that even though McCarthy has disap-peared, his ideas still hurt. The ivory tower is made of teeth.

Bertell Ollman was denied the chair of

the department of government and politics at the University of Maryland. Ollman is president of the American Political Science Association and had the approval of the department, the provost, and the chancellor. The president declared him unqualified following a political uproar over his Marxism. Ollman is suing.

Samuel Bowles, a well-known Marxist economist was refused tenure at Harvard. The decision split the department

vard. The decision split the department and prompted the resignation of Nobel laureate Wassily Leontief.
David DeLeon was denied tenure the University of Maryland history department, primarily because of his manuscript The American Anarchist

manuscript The American Anarchist which has received prestigious commendations and is to be published by Johns Hopkins University Press.

Harry Edwards, author of The Sociology of Sports and organizer of the abortive black boycott of the 1968 Olympics was denied tenure at Berkeley dentite impressive accountially.

despite impressive credentials.

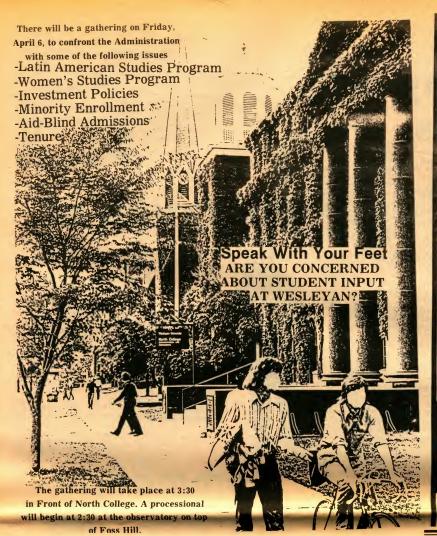
Paul Gomberg was denied tenure at the
University of Missouri at St. Louis for
"immature" political activities despite the philosophy department's unanimous recommendation.

Paul Nyden sued the University of Pitt-

sburgh for letting him go on political grounds and collected out of court. He is a sociologist who works with dissident members of the United Mine Workers.







# Investigating **Investments**

The Clamshell Alliance Economics Task Force is considering the possibility of a compaign to target the economic factors and corporations involved in building the Seabrook Nuclear Power Plant.

Help is needed with research on the corporated inter-connections of the utilities that are building the nuke. It's a deep, dark maze full of interlocking directorates, conflicts of interest, members of the Wesleyan Board of Trustees, and holding companies that have a tenuous hold on reality but a strong one on the workings of the American economy.

ings of the American economy.

Seabrook is not far away: remember that Northeast
Utilities of Connecticut has long owned 12/ of the
Seabrook plant, though they are now trying to sell it.
United Illuminating of Connecticut also owns a big
piece of the nuke-20/. The connection is closer to home
than we think. Ever hear of Lelan Sillin? He's President of Northeast Utilities and is an influential
member of the Wesleyan Board of Trustees. Curiouser and curiouser

If you are interested in helping the Clamshell find the facts on who's really building the Seabrook Plant-who's on the boards, what banks are behind the investments, what all the corporate connections, interconnections and strangleholds are, please contact: Arnie Alpert or Renny Cushing, 62 Congress Street, Portsmouth, N.H. 03801 (603)-436-5414 or 431-5942.



It happened in Iran-It could happen at Wesleyan



O'ROURKES DINER 728 MAIN ST.

## **BROKEN GLASSES? NEED EMERGENCY** REPAIR?



The Vision Corner -

NOW ... Same Day Service!!! In Most Cases

Not Available on Bifocal or Photogray/Sun Lenses

Corner Washington & Main Sts. Middletown

347-4664

First Quality, Brand Name Prescription Eyewear and Contact Lenses at Sub-stantial Savings.

## **ELECTRONICS AMENTA**

Your service center for

STEREOS TV's and RADIOS CASSETTE PLAYERS

Your sales center for

RADIOS AUTO SOUND EQUIPMENT

Amenta Electronics

9 GRAND ST. MIDDLETOWN, CONN 06457 Ph. 346-1647 (OFF MAIN STREET)

# JOHN B'S CAFE

A CLASSLESS BAR THAT'S ALL CLASS 73 Ferry St. MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

NOW FOR SALE JOHN B's T-SHIRTS All Sizes \$4.50 each

# MIDDLETOWN FRAMING COMPANY

55 off with an

and les I.J.

of moldings All shapes and

141 BROAD STREET 347-0064

FYI: I have 4 extra credits (2 English, 2 History) that t don't need. Want to selt, price negotiable. Contact me thru Hermes, Box AA.

## Xerox Copies 3<sup>c</sup> ICA Copy & Printing

641 Main St. Middletown 347-6532 Mon-Sat 8:30-5

For Pine Jewelry China, Crystal, Diamonds, Rolex and Omega Watches

ernie Fields Jewelers 312 Moin St.

EAT AT



Home-style Italian cooking

-fresh bread baked daily -warm atmosphere

BRING YOUR OWN **BEER OR WINE!!!** 

Open Wed. Sun.



SAAG (from page 4)

Therefore, SAAG calls for the withdrawal of U.S. corporations from South Africa for the following reasons:

1. U.S. corporate presence provides a substantial part of the capital and technology necessary to the economic stability on which the white regime reets

2. This capital and technology is utilized in the sectors of the economy critical to the perpetuation of apartheid, e.g.

military, energy, police.
3. As long as the U.S. has a stake in the South African economy, the U.S. has a stake in maintainence of the apartheid system.

4. Moreover, U.S. corporations are bound to act within the limits of South African laws. This inherently constrains their ability to influence South African racial policies.

African racial policies.

5. In light of this SAAG rejects the Sullivan Principles. They serve to justify further corporate presence without substantially altering the existing balance of power within South

6. Black South African leaders have themselves demanded that U.S. cor-

porations withdraw.

IV. SAAG supports divestiture as a means of pressuring for corporate withdrawal from South Africa. SAAG demands that Wesleyan divest itself of its holdings from the fifteen corporations with the largest and most strategic investments in South Africa. SAAG also demands Wesleyan ultimately divest from all corporations doing business in South Africa.

Although Wesleyan's divesting alone may not appear significant, the collective efforts of students, trade unions and religious groups involved in the anti-apartheid movement internationally can have a powerful political and economic impact for the following

 The cumulative effect of divestiture by many institution carries real financial weight.

-The negative publicity generated when prestigious institutions divest provides further impetus for corporate

-As much may be gained from the political education involved in the struggle for divestiture as from the actual set of divesting

struggle for divesting.

Furthermore, divesting as a strategy challenges the university's hierarchy and decision-making process, and the lack of student input in financial matters.

ters.
V. SAAG attempts to make our internal process consistent with our goals. We are a non-hierarchical group; we have no 'officers'. Our decisions are arrived at through consensus. We are committed to non-sexist forms of organizing and to fighting racism and economic exploitation at home as well as abroad. We therefore oppose discriminatory policies at Wesleyan, currently exemplified by the drop in minority enrollment and the threat to aid-blind admissions. We advocate the reinvestment of a portion of Wesleyan's funds in local community development projects and in other socially responsible forms of investment.

# New Grinders in Groton: Hold the Missiles Please

On Saturday, April 7, at ll a.m., General Dynamics/Electric Boat and the U.S. Navy will launch the first Trident submarine, the Ohio, and lay the keel for the third Trident, the Georgia. As in times past, they will throw a party. Prominent political, military and business leaders of our time, including Rosalynn Carter and Senator and Mrs. John Glenn, will be flown in to herald the event. There will be bunting and ballyhoo, catered lunches and cocktail parties. Someone will then playfully break a bottle of champagne on the hully break a bottle of champagne on the space of a quarter hour. We believe that this is not an occasion to be celebrated but to be mourned and resisted. The Trident Conversion Campaign invites you to come to Groton to stand in opposition to the construction and celebration of ever more powerful tools of war.

The Scenario

We will gather at 8 p.m. at the Griswold Monument on Smith St., in Groton, CT, a short walk from General Dynamics/Electric Boat shipyard. Everyone should come dressed simply and somberly, as for a funeral. Black armbands will be provided. Vigilers will line all the streets leading to the shipyard, forty of them carrying the Trident Monster, 560 feet of bamboo poles and rope with 408 black pennants, one for each warhead. They will stand in silence, a constant reminder to those filing past to enter the ceremony that the launching of the Trident is nothing to celebrate. Once the actual ceremony has begun, marshalls will lead the vigilers to the area immediately in froat of the main gate where they will stand, amassed, until the ceremony is over and all the celebrants have left.

## Aid Blind, Deaf and Dumb Admissions

Like the Wesleyan investment policy, our fiscal mismanagement, the tenure process, overcrowding, rising tuition prices, etc., the Aid-Blind Admissions policy is coming under close scrutiny. The South College Administrators announce that it is possible to abolish the policy and still maintain Wesleyan student diversity and remain committed to our "ideals". It is now rumored that Commandant Colin (or is it Uncle?) and his cohorts (all the president's men) have proposed an alternative to aid-blind admissions: Aid Deaf and Dumb Admissions. The following is an excerpt from a secret memo sent from Rumburger to Campbell explaining how it would work: "Under the new system, deafness and dumbness will be the desirable characteristics sought in the prospective freshmen. Given the deteriorating situation at Wesleyan and the bleak prospects facing our socio-economic system, a prerequisite for admissions to this institution will be strict adherence to bourgeois ideology. Those who are deaf to the 'cries and whispers' and remain dumb in face of social injustice will be seriously considered. This novel concept in admissions policy gives a new meaning to the term Aid BLIND admissions as well."

See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil: the 'right' qualifications for maintaining our diversity. We at Hermes feel that a move in this direction might hinder the active pursuit of knowledge and social revolution. Apparantly the administration thinks so too. And that is why they like it and we don't.



# SEXUAL GARASSMENT AT WESLEYAN ELD 15K AT A FRATI



## China Syndrome (from page 3)

The two merge when I read articles in the National Review which declare that the worldwide anti-nuke movement is encouraged by Russia. You see they want to have all the nukes so we'll be dependent on Russia for our energy needs.

for our energy needs.

A Westinghouse official felt The China Syndrome was a character assassination of all the officials in the nuclear industry. They were depicted as conductin such illegal and immoral activities as falsifying records and bumping people off just to make money. According to the Secretary of the Science Energy organization, "If a company chief had the choice of running the thing for a few more kilowatts, a meltdown is something the company could not survive. It would be in their economic interest to shut the plant down. The plant is theirs and their future depends on the plant." What the Secretary fails to recognize is that industry officials have been so brainwashed by their own rhetoric concerning the safety of nuclear plants that they never would believe a meltdown was possible. They have faith in the "back-up systems." They have to. As Jack Lemmon said in The China Syndrome, "I love that plant. It's my whole life."

This accident in Pennsylvania, unfortunate that it is,

This accident in Pennsylvania, unfortunate that it is, has served to shake the experts confidence in their technology. Although this is not the first accident, it is the straw that broke the proverbial camel's back. Between 1971 and 1973 utilities ordered 100 nuclear plants. Between 1973 and 1978 that number dropped to 13. Babcock and Wilcox hasn't received a new order since 1976. If this keeps u, they fear they will have to go out of the nuke business.

Now, The China Syndrome has brought the dangers of nuclear power to a mass audience in a way no medium has ever been able to do. It is a strange irony of American capitalism that sometimes products which attack the very premises of one system are developed, widely distrusted and profitable. Columbi Pictures stock has shot up since the Pennsylvania accident.

when I saw the movie the second time, two days after the accident, a woman behind me said at the end, "That's fantastic! I'm going to go out and protest 'No Nukes'!" Ordinarilly the effects of movies like this are only temporary. But because a real-life incident which actually effects people's lives has occured, we hope people won't forget so easily.

U.S. Rep. George Brown said of the accident, "This will give the nuclear power industry the finishing touch." I'm not so sure U.S. Rep. Gary Hart, who was pretty upset by it too, feels the answer lies in increased safety precautions, constant remote control monitoring by sattelite. Ah, the technological fly. When will they ever learn?





I've got a B.A., M.A., L.L.D. I'm a doctor, a lawyer, a PhD.

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES

I read Plato, Socrates, Immanuel Kant, I've got all the education anyone could

I need a job.

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES

Computer chess I win with ease, But wo/men run away like I had fleas. Ever since I learned my A.B.C.s It's been since like some bad disease!

My resume weighs half a pound, Yet no employment have I found. I need a job,

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES

I went to look for work at an employment firm,

They said, "Stand in line and wait your

I need a job.

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES

They looked at my record and said with a smirk,

"You're just another over educated jerk.

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES

I've read Adler, Jung, and Sigmund

Good psychic health I've long enjoyed. My joy in life is unalloyed, But here am I still unemployed!

My resume weighs half a pound, Yet no employment have I found. I need a job,

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES

I worked my way through college sell-

Got my diploma, first in the class. I spent twenty-five thousand on this

piece of trash

And the only thing it's good for is to wipe my ass!

My resume weighs half a pound, Yet no employment have I found. I need a job,

I got the OVER EDUCATED BLUES